

Appendix A – ANES time-series

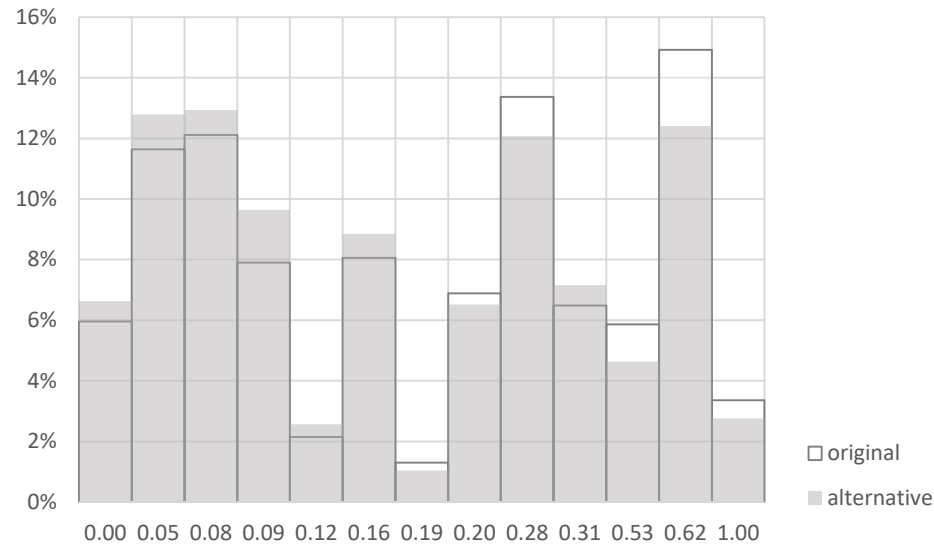
Table A1. Descriptive data for CANES

	# obs	mean	std. dev	min	max
sorting	12,788	0.27	0.24	0	1
religiosity01	12,049	0.59	0.32	0	1
white_evang	12,788	0.14	0.35	0	1
prot	12,788	0.34	0.48	0	1
cath	12,788	0.25	0.43	0	1
jew	12,788	0.02	0.15	0	1
secu	12,788	0.15	0.35	0	1
interest	12,788	0.97	0.75	0	2
sophisticatio					
n	12,788	0.71	0.28	0	1
abortion	12,526	0.34	0.36	0	1
govspend	12,788	0.48	0.27	0	1
male	12,788	0.49	0.50	0	1
white	12,788	0.73	0.44	0	1
black	12,788	0.11	0.32	0	1
age	12,724	47.22	16.92	17	93
educ7cat	12,619	3.57	1.62	0	6
oldsouth	12,788	0.26	0.44	0	1
_88	12,788	0.10	0.30	0	1
_92	12,788	0.13	0.34	0	1
_94	12,788	0.10	0.30	0	1
_96	12,788	0.10	0.29	0	1
_00	12,788	0.03	0.16	0	1
_08	12,788	0.06	0.23	0	1
_12	12,788	0.38	0.49	0	1

Source: 1984-2012 CANES

Notes: Estimates weighted by population weights.

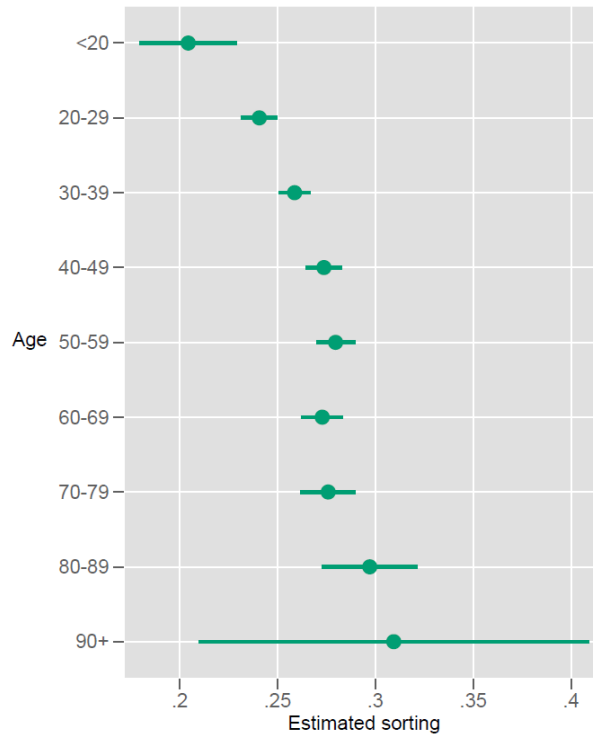
Figure A1. Distribution of sorting in CANES



Source: 1984-2012 CANES Time-Series

Notes: (i) Sorting comprises overlap between PID and ideology, multiplied by the “folded” strength of those items. Figure presents population-weighted scores. Original metric (white bars, black outline) does not account for “don’t know responses.” (ii) Past research shows that feeling thermometers can serve as proxies for political identification (Weisberg 1980). In the CANES file, the variable VCF0801 is a thermometer index that juxtaposes liberal and conservative thermometer scores, where 0 conveys a tendency to prefer liberals and 100 conveys an affective preference toward conservatives. Alternative sorting metric distributes those individuals who responded “don’t know” based on following criteria: 1) using this comparative feeling thermometer index, those with neutral affect, scores 45-55, were assigned to the “moderate” category on the traditional seven-category liberal-conservative self-placement item; 2) those individuals with comparatively more liberal (conservative) relative conservative (liberal) affect are coded as leaning liberal (conservative); 3) the sorting equation is then re-computed. Empirically, the correlation between this thermometer construct and liberal-conservative identity is high ($r = 0.60$). Thus, this alternative coding scheme is preferable to simply coding all “don’t knows” as “moderates,” which Kinder and Kalmoe [2017] note is not a “substantive” coding decision. The coding protocol described here allows for some variation that is theoretically motivated and empirically warranted.

Figure A2. Partisan-ideological sorting across age cohorts



Source: 1984-2012 ANES Time-Series

Notes: Point estimates convey average sorting within age cohort.

Solid bands convey 95% confidence intervals.

Table A2. Full model output for Figure 2

	Full sample		Dem		Rep	
	b	s.e.	b	s.e.	b	s.e.
Religiosity	0.04**	(0.01)	-0.05**	(0.01)	0.09**	(0.02)
White evangelical	0.04**	(0.01)	-0.02	(0.02)	0.03*	(0.02)
Protestant	-0.00	(0.01)	-0.02	(0.01)	0.01	(0.02)
Catholic	-0.03**	(0.01)	-0.02	(0.01)	-0.03	(0.02)
Jewish	0.03	(0.02)	0.04	(0.02)	0.01	(0.04)
Secular	0.00	(0.01)	0.00	(0.02)	0.01	(0.02)
Political interest	-0.01	(0.00)	-0.00	(0.00)	0.00	(0.01)
Abortion	0.06**	(0.01)	-0.05**	(0.01)	0.13**	(0.01)
Government spending	-0.04**	(0.01)	0.18**	(0.02)	-0.19**	(0.02)
Sophistication	0.25**	(0.01)	0.14**	(0.01)	0.19**	(0.02)
Male	-0.01	(0.01)	-0.01*	(0.01)	0.00	(0.01)
White	0.02**	(0.01)	0.00	(0.01)	0.02	(0.01)
Black	0.01	(0.01)	0.01	(0.01)	0.01	(0.04)
Age	0.00	(0.00)	-0.00	(0.00)	0.00*	(0.00)
Education	0.01**	(0.00)	0.01**	(0.00)	0.00	(0.00)
Old South	-0.01*	(0.01)	-0.01	(0.01)	-0.00	(0.01)
1988	0.01	(0.01)	0.00	(0.01)	0.02	(0.01)
1992	0.02*	(0.01)	0.01	(0.01)	0.00	(0.01)
1994	0.06**	(0.01)	0.02	(0.01)	0.06**	(0.01)
1996	0.06**	(0.01)	0.02	(0.01)	0.06**	(0.01)
2000	0.00	(0.01)	-0.04*	(0.02)	0.01	(0.02)
2008	0.04**	(0.01)	0.02	(0.01)	0.03	(0.01)
2012	0.03*	(0.02)	0.02	(0.03)	0.03**	(0.03)
Constant	0.00		0.06*		0.07*	
R2	0.12		0.14		0.20	
N	11,619		5,657		4,834	

Source: 1984-2012 CANES Time-Series

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses; *p<0.05, **p<0.01

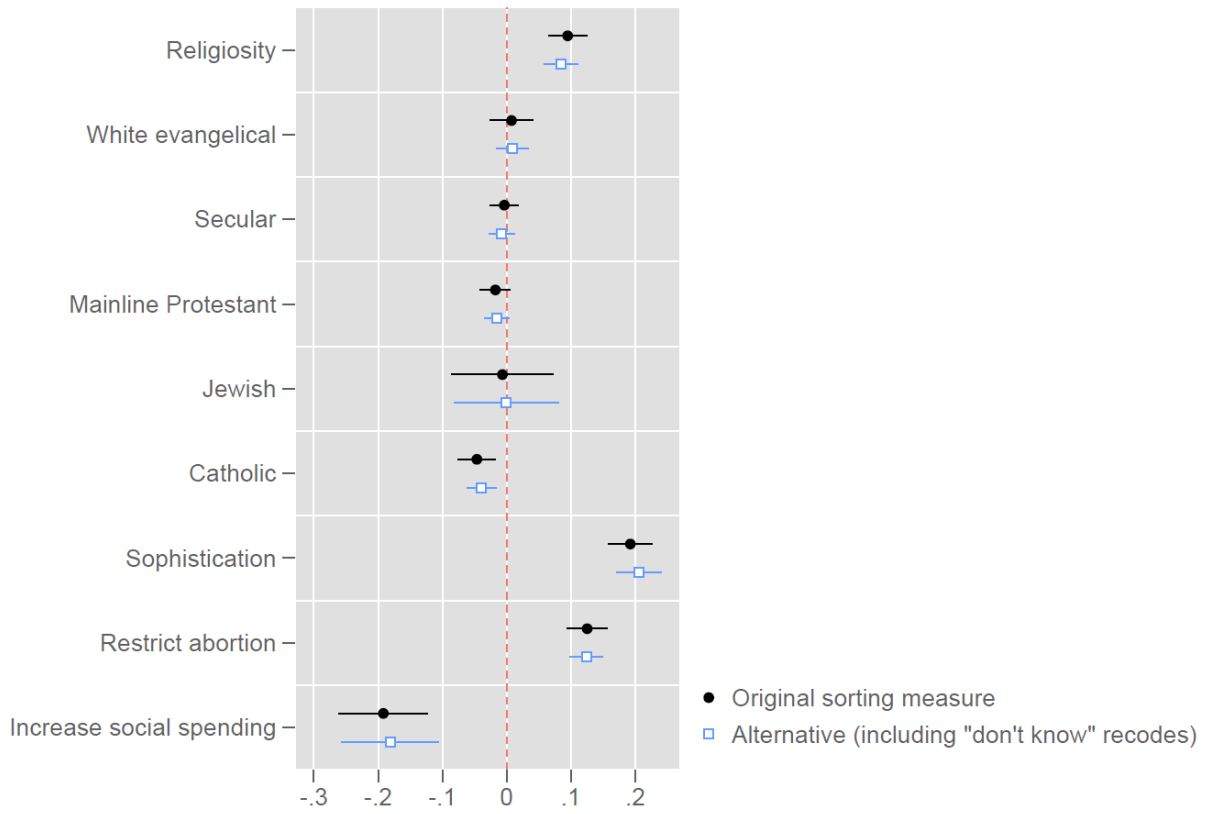
Table A3. The correlates of sorting using alternative sorting variable (“don’t know” responses included)

	Full sample		Dem		Rep	
	b	s.e.	b	s.e.	b	s.e.
Religiosity	0.03**	(0.01)	-0.05**	(0.01)	0.08**	(0.02)
White evangelical	0.04**	(0.01)	-0.01	(0.01)	0.03*	(0.02)
Protestant	-0.00	(0.01)	-0.02	(0.01)	0.00	(0.02)
Catholic	-0.03**	(0.01)	-0.02	(0.01)	-0.02	(0.02)
Jewish	0.03	(0.02)	0.04	(0.02)	0.01	(0.04)
Secular	0.00	(0.01)	0.00	(0.01)	0.00	(0.02)
Political interest	-0.00	(0.00)	-0.00	(0.00)	0.01	(0.01)
Abortion	0.05**	(0.01)	-0.05**	(0.01)	0.12**	(0.01)
Government spending	-0.04**	(0.01)	0.15**	(0.01)	-0.18**	(0.02)
Sophistication	0.24**	(0.01)	0.13**	(0.01)	0.20**	(0.01)
Male	-0.01	(0.00)	-0.01*	(0.01)	0.00	(0.01)
White	0.02**	(0.01)	0.00	(0.01)	0.01	(0.01)
Black	0.00	(0.01)	0.00	(0.01)	0.01	(0.03)
Age	0.00	(0.00)	0.00	(0.00)	0.00**	(0.00)
Education	0.01**	(0.00)	0.01**	(0.00)	0.01	(0.00)
Old South	-0.01*	(0.01)	-0.00	(0.01)	-0.01	(0.01)
1988	0.02*	(0.01)	0.00	(0.01)	0.02	(0.01)
1992	0.02*	(0.01)	0.01	(0.01)	0.01	(0.01)
1994	0.06**	(0.01)	0.01	(0.01)	0.07**	(0.01)
1996	0.05**	(0.01)	0.01	(0.01)	0.06**	(0.01)
2000	0.00	(0.01)	-0.03*	(0.02)	0.02	(0.02)
2008	0.03**	(0.01)	0.00	(0.02)	0.03*	(0.02)
2012	0.04**	(0.01)	0.02	(0.01)	0.04**	(0.01)
Constant	-0.01	(0.02)	0.06**	(0.02)	0.04	(0.03)
R2	0.14		0.14		0.22	
N	13,227		6,607		5,254	

Source: 1984-2012 CANES Time-Series

Notes: Models include yearly fixed effects; see Table A3 in Appendix. Standard errors in parentheses; *p<0.05, **p<0.01. Alternative sorting metric distributes “don’t know” responses to liberal-conservative placement among moderate / leaner categories. See Figure A1 for full coding explanation.

Figure A3. Marginal effects of major covariates across different codings of sorting



Source: Estimates drawn from models depicted in Table A3. Solid bands around point estimates convey 95% confidence intervals.

Table A4. Effect of religiosity on sorting over time, by ID type (Figure 3)

	1984	1988	1992	1994	1996	2000	2000 alt coding	2004	2008	2012	2016
religiosity	-0.16** (0.05)	-0.19** (0.06)	-0.20** (0.05)	-0.20** (0.05)	-0.24** (0.05)	-0.27* (0.10)	-0.36** (0.06)	-0.14* (0.06)	-0.09 (0.09)	-0.26** (0.04)	-0.38** (0.05)
3-category PID	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.05** (0.01)	-0.03* (0.02)	-0.03 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.07** (0.02)	-0.05* (0.02)	-0.06* (0.03)	-0.04** (0.01)	-0.24** (0.02)
Religiosity x PID	0.08** (0.02)	0.11** (0.02)	0.11** (0.02)	0.13** (0.02)	0.12** (0.02)	0.11* (0.05)	0.19** (0.03)	0.17** (0.03)	0.13** (0.04)	0.14** (0.02)	0.44** (0.03)
White evangelical	-0.07 (0.04)	0.02 (0.05)	0.03 (0.04)	-0.07 (0.04)	0.05 (0.05)	0.10 (0.07)	0.03 (0.04)	----	-0.12* (0.06)	0.05** (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Secular	-0.10* (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.07* (0.03)	0.04 (0.04)	0.06 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.04)	0.10 (0.06)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.06** (0.02)
Mainline	-0.11** (0.04)	-0.00 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.08** (0.03)	0.00 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.07)	0.04 (0.03)	0.10 (0.05)	-0.14** (0.05)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)
Jewish	-0.09 (0.05)	0.03 (0.06)	0.04 (0.05)	0.00 (0.05)	0.08 (0.08)	-0.01 (0.15)	0.11 (0.08)	0.15* (0.07)	-0.09 (0.09)	0.03 (0.03)	----
Catholic	-0.07 (0.05)	0.03 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.03)	0.00 (0.05)	0.03 (0.07)	0.03 (0.03)	0.07 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.06)	0.00 (0.02)	----
Interest	0.05** (0.01)	0.05** (0.01)	0.03** (0.01)	0.05** (0.01)	0.06** (0.01)	0.03 (0.02)	0.04** (0.01)	0.04** (0.02)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.07** (0.01)	0.03** (0.00)
Anti-abortion	0.02 (0.02)	0.05* (0.02)	0.04* (0.02)	0.08** (0.02)	0.08** (0.02)	0.11* (0.04)	0.02 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	0.02 (0.02)	0.06** (0.00)
Pro-spending	-0.02 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.05 (0.03)	0.06 (0.05)	0.01 (0.03)	0.00 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.05)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.00)
Sophistication	0.16** (0.02)	0.18** (0.02)	0.15** (0.02)	0.25** (0.03)	0.28** (0.03)	0.11** (0.04)	0.18** (0.03)	0.22** (0.05)	0.30** (0.04)	0.19** (0.02)	0.24** (0.03)
Male	0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.04* (0.02)	-0.05* (0.02)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.04 (0.01)
White	0.01	-0.01	0.02	0.02	0.02	-0.02	0.01	0.01	0.03	0.01	0.03**

(0.02) (0.02) (0.02) (0.02) (0.02) (0.04) (0.02) (0.03) (0.03) (0.01) (0.01)

Table A4. Effect of religiosity on sorting over time, by ID type *continued...*

	1984	1988	1992	1994	1996	2000	2000 alt coding	2004	2008	2012	2016
Black	0.03	0.03	0.06*	0.05	0.03	-0.03	0.07	-0.06	-0.02	0.02	0.07**
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.06)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Age	-0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.00**	-0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.00	0.00	-0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.01**	0.01*	0.02	0.01	0.01	-0.00	0.00	-0.01
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Old south	-0.02	0.01	-0.00	-0.00	-0.01	-0.05	-0.01	-0.01	0.00	-0.02	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Constant	0.17**	0.04	0.15**	0.12*	0.01	0.01	0.13*	0.01	0.18	0.24**	0.23**
	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.12)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.10)	(0.04)	(0.05)
R2	0.16	0.18	0.13	0.28	0.25	0.19	0.24	0.22	0.20	0.18	0.19
N	1,190	1,054	1,423	1,206	1,170	306	746	719	611	4,659	2,504

Source: 1984-2012 CANES Time-Series & 2016 ANES Time-Series

Notes: Year 2000 model presents an oddity for how it measures ideology. For roughly half the sample, ANES asked traditional seven-point, liberal-conservative placement question. The other half received an experimental instrument. The CANES (i.e. the cumulative file) does not include responses to the experimental item, thereby drastically reducing the size of the available sample. “Alt coding” model accounts for all available data from that survey-year in constructing the sorting variable. In 2004, the question for whether a respondent identified as “born-again” was not, unfortunately, included in that year’s survey. Year 2016 model uses May, 2017 release data from electionstudies.org. At present, no master religion summary variable is included; however, using variables V161266a – V161266h, it is possible to generate a “mainline Protestant” variable. From this, using variable V161263 (born-again), it is possible to construct mutually-exclusive categories of non-evangelical Protestants and white evangelicals. Variables V161266j (secular), V161266k (agnostic), and V161266m (atheist) are used to create “secular” variable. Baseline category of comparison includes all persons; while not ideal, other affiliation items are not yet publicly available. Standard errors in parentheses; *p<0.05, **p<0.01

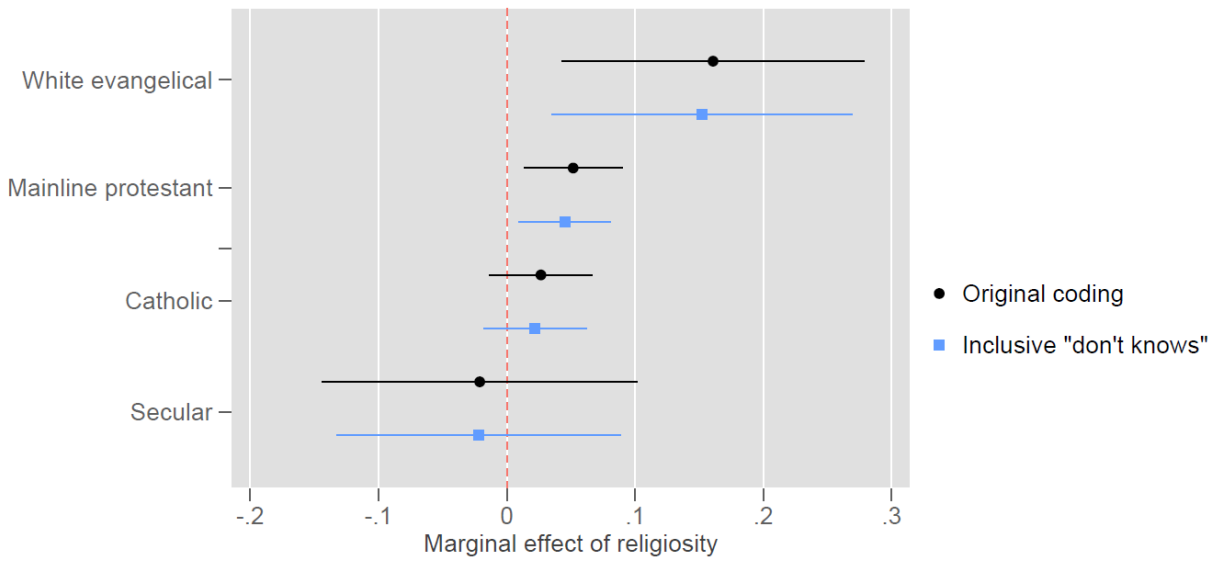
Table A5. The effect of religiosity on sorting by denominational affiliation

	Coding used in Figure 4		Alternative sorting item	
	b	s.e.	B	s.e.
Religiosity	0.05	(0.03)	0.05	(0.02)
White evangelical	-0.13**	(0.03)	-0.11**	(0.03)
White evangelical × religiosity	0.21**	(0.04)	0.18**	(0.04)
Mainline Protestant	-0.01	(0.02)	0.00	(0.02)
Mainline Protestant × religiosity	0.00	(0.03)	-0.01	(0.03)
Secular	0.03	(0.02)	0.04*	(0.02)
Secular × religiosity	-0.14**	(0.04)	-0.13**	(0.04)
Catholic	0.00	(0.02)	0.00	(0.02)
Catholic × religiosity	-0.05	(0.03)	-0.05	(0.03)
Jewish	0.03	(0.02)	0.04*	(0.02)
Interest	-0.01	(0.00)	0.00	(0.00)
Anti-abortion	0.06**	(0.01)	0.05**	(0.01)
Pro-spending	-0.04**	(0.01)	-0.04**	(0.01)
Pol sophistication	0.24**	(0.01)	0.24**	(0.01)
Male	-0.01	(0.01)	-0.01	(0.00)
White	0.02*	(0.01)	0.02*	(0.01)
Black	0.00	(0.01)	0.00	(0.01)
Age	0.00	(0.00)	0.00	(0.00)
Education	0.01	(0.00)	0.01	(0.00)
Old South	-0.01	(0.01)	-0.01	(0.01)
1988	0.01	(0.01)	0.02	(0.01)
1992	0.02	(0.01)	0.02	(0.01)
1994	0.06**	(0.01)	0.06**	(0.01)
1996	0.06**	(0.01)	0.06**	(0.01)
2000	0.00	(0.01)	0.00	(0.01)
2008	0.04**	(0.01)	0.04**	(0.01)
2012	0.03*	(0.01)	0.04**	(0.01)
Constant	0.00	(0.02)	-0.01	(0.02)
R2	.11		.15	
N	11,619		13,227	

Source: 1984-2012 CANES Time-Series

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$. Alternative sorting metric distributes “don’t know” responses to liberal-conservative placement among moderate / leaner categories. See Figure A1 for full coding explanation.

Figure A4. The effect of religiosity across different denomination affiliations by different codings of sorting.



Notes: Point estimates juxtapose predicted marginal effects associated with “sorting” and “sortingalt” dependent variables. Solid bands around point estimates convey 95% confidence intervals.

Table A6. Three-way interaction model (Figure 5)

	White evangelical	Protestant	Catholic	Secular
religiosity01	-0.20** (0.02)	-0.26** (0.03)	-0.24** (0.02)	-0.20** (0.02)
PID	-0.04** (0.01)	-0.05** (0.01)	-0.04** (0.01)	-0.04** (0.01)
White evangelical	-0.04 (0.06)	0.02* (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)
Protestant	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.07* (0.03)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)
Catholic	-0.03* (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.02* (0.01)
Secular	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.04 (0.03)
Jewish	0.03 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)
PID X religiosity	0.11** (0.01)	0.15** (0.01)	0.14** (0.01)	0.13** (0.01)
Relig ID x PID	-0.03 (0.03)	0.03* (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)
Relig ID x religiosity	-0.03 (0.07)	0.12** (0.04)	0.07 (0.05)	-0.14* (0.07)
Relig ID x PID x religiosity	0.08* (0.03)	-0.05** (0.02)	-0.05* (0.02)	0.02 (0.03)
Political interest	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Abortion	0.03** (0.01)	0.04** (0.01)	0.04** (0.01)	0.04** (0.01)
Gov spending	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Sophistication	0.23** (0.01)	0.23** (0.01)	0.23** (0.01)	0.23** (0.01)
Male	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
White evangelical	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Black	0.03* (0.01)	0.03** (0.01)	0.04** (0.01)	0.03** (0.01)
Age	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)

Education	0.01** (0.00)	0.01** (0.00)	0.01** (0.00)	0.01** (0.00)
Old South	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
1988	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
1992	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
1994	0.06** (0.01)	0.06** (0.01)	0.06** (0.01)	0.06** (0.01)
1996	0.05** (0.01)	0.05** (0.01)	0.05** (0.01)	0.06** (0.01)
2000	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)
2008	0.04** (0.01)	0.04** (0.01)	0.04** (0.01)	0.04** (0.01)
2012	0.03** (0.01)	0.03** (0.01)	0.03** (0.01)	0.03** (0.01)
_cons	0.09** (0.02)	0.11** (0.03)	0.09** (0.02)	0.09** (0.02)
R2	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16
N	11,619	11,619	11,619	11,619

Source: 1984-2012 CANES Time-Series

Notes: Each regression comprises full sample, but heading indicates which religious identity is being modeled in the interaction. Standard errors in parentheses; *p<0.05, **p<0.01

Figure A5. Effect of religiosity on sorting among black and white evangelicals

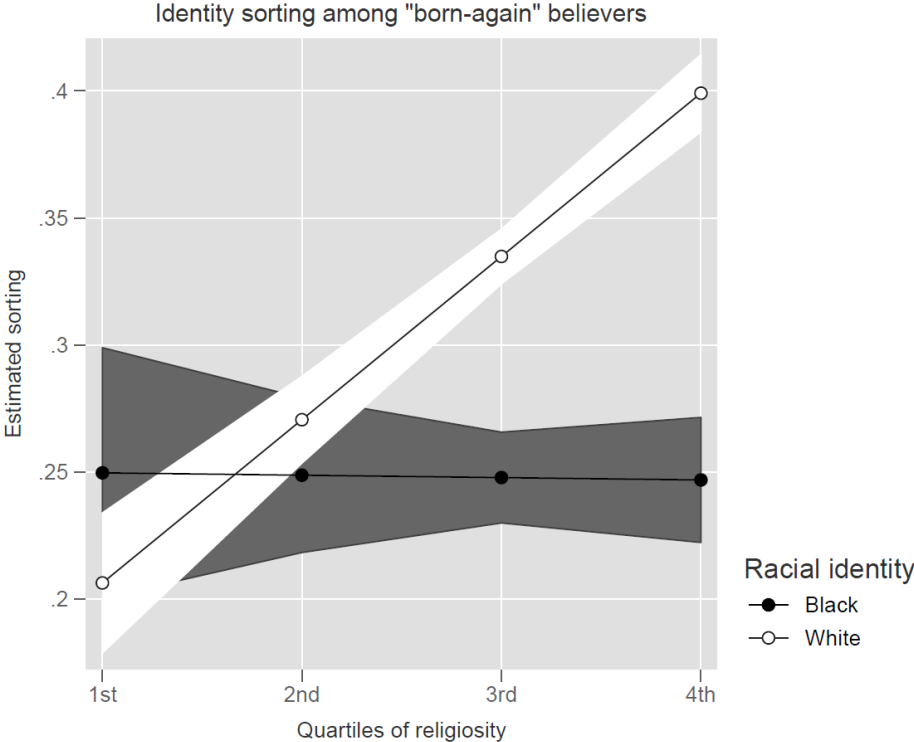


Table B1. Variables utilized

	82 (wave 3)	97 (wave 4)
Biblical interpretation	v2323	v6502
Church attendance	v2322	v6501
Has college degree	V2025	V6224
Race	v2326	v6601
Political interest	v1216	v5221
Male	v2325	v6600
Political knowledge	v4007	v6719
PID	v1608	v5754
Ideology	v1304	v5300
Denomination affiliation	v2321	v6500

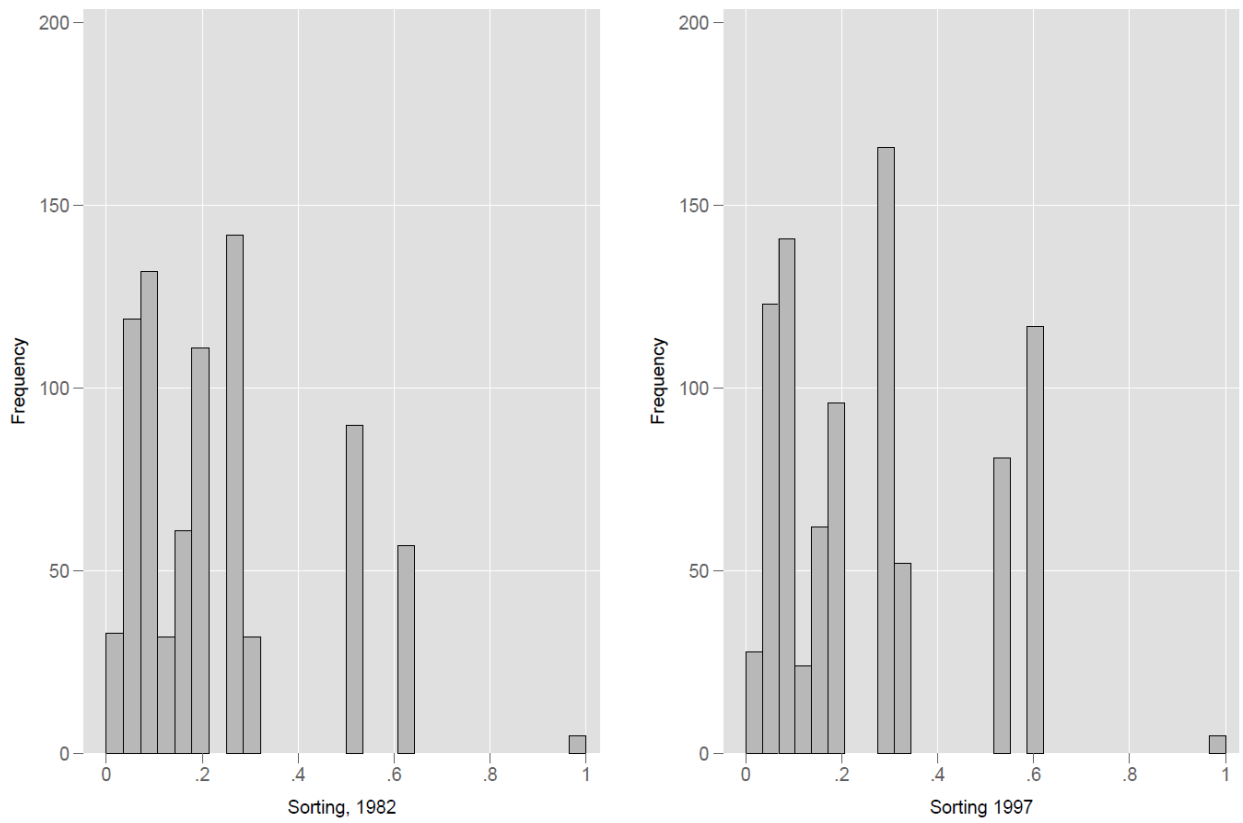
Full codebook for items is available both from ICPSR (Study 4037) and author.

Table B2. Summary statistics for YPS variables

	Obs	Mean	Std. dev	Min	max
relig97_	753	0.64	0.24	0	1
sorting82	753	0.23	0.19	0	1
relig82_	753	0.63	0.24	0	1
know97	753	4.78	1.60	1	7
hascolleg					
e	753	0.47	0.50	0	1
white	753	0.46	0.50	0	1
black	753	0.03	0.18	0	1
catholic	753	0.19	0.39	0	1
jewish	753	0.04	0.20	0	1
sbaptist	753	0.08	0.26	0	1
relignone	753	0.07	0.26	0	1

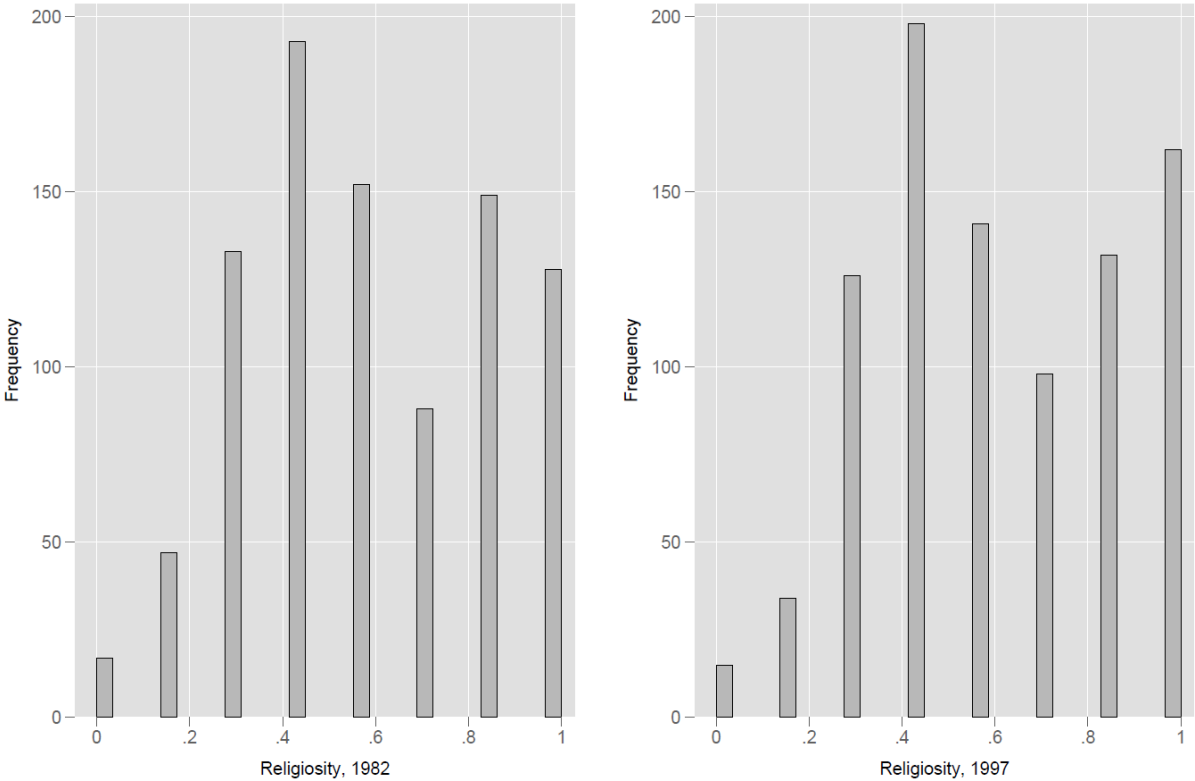
Notes: All covariates other than sorting and religiosity measured at Wave 4 (1997). *Religiosity* is index that averages *biblical interpretation* and *church attendance*. Race is broken down in dichotomous items for *white* and *black* identification (coded 1, otherwise 0). *Political interest* is four-category item (hardly to most), while *political knowledge* is aggregation of six knowledge items (e.g. know House majority, terms Senators serve, etc.). *Partisanship* and *ideology* measured on seven-category scales; *sorting* is coded using same method as ANES study. *Denominational affiliation* is broken out into *secular*, *Jewish*, *Catholic*, and *Southern Baptist*; explicit items capturing “evangelical” identification were, unfortunately unavailable. *Has college degree* is coded 1 for conveying respondent graduated from college, otherwise 0.

Figure B1. Distribution of sorting at Waves 3 and 4, YPS



Source: Waves 3 (1982) and 4 (1997) of Youth-Parent Socialization Survey

Figure B2. Frequency plot of religiosity at Waves 3 and 4, YPS



Source: Waves 3 (1982) and 4 (1997) of Youth-Parent Socialization Survey